

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 SMS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02

SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /090 W

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P 161325Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5620

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UR, JA, CH, PEPR

SUBJECT: SOVIET REACTION TO PFT SIGNING: BITS AND
PIECES

REF: MOSCOW 19336

SUMMARY: SOVIET IGNORING OF JAPANESE REQUEST FOR
EARLY SEPTEMBER MEETING OF VICE-FOREIGN MINISTERS
MAY REPRESENT SOVIET DISPLEASURE AT PFT
SIGNING. DEPUTY FM FIRYUBIN DISAGREES WITH JAPANESE
CHARGE'S EXPLANATION OF PFT. "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM"
IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES HERE IS THAT SOVIETS WILL BE
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WARY OF DOING ANYTHING THAT WILL CAUSE LONG-TERM
DAMAGE TO SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. HOWEVER, PFT
SIGNING, COMBINED WITH CURRENT DIPLOMATIC TRENDS
IN ASIA AND ELSEWHERE, COULD CONCEIVABLY LEAD
SOVIETS TO RESPOND WITH A HARDER LINE. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE IS A WIDE RANGE OF SPECULATION IN DIP-

LOMATIC CIRCLES HERE ABOUT POSSIBLE SOVIET "COUNTER-MEASURES" AGAINST JAPAN. PRIOR TO PFT SIGNING, SOVIETS WARNED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT JAPAN SHOULD NOT SIGN ON PRC TERMS. SOVIET COMMENTARY SINCE AUG. 12 SIGNING UNAMBIGUOUSLY CHARGES TOKYO WITH HAVING CAPITULATED TO PRC TERMS.

2. A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT HERE TELLS US TOKYO PROPOSED LAST MONTH THAT SOVIET-JAPANESE VICE-FOREIGN MINISTERIAL LEVEL TALKS AGREED ON DURING SONODA'S JANUARY VISIT TO MOSCOW BEGIN WITH FIRYUBIN VISIT TO TOKYO IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. DESPITE CONTINUED PRODDING BY JAPANESE FOR RESPONSE TO INVITATION, SOVIETS HAVE NOT REPLIED. JAPANESE SOURCE BELIEVES SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO IGNORE JAPANESE REQUESTS TO SCHEDULE MEETING AS A SIGN OF DISPLEASURE AT PFT SIGNING. HE SAID JAPANESE ARE ALSO WATCHING TO SEE IF AMBASSADOR POLYANSKIY IS DETAINED IN MOSCOW.

3. DURING AUG. 14 CALL BY JAPANESE CHARGE TO PRESENT JAPANESE STATEMENT ON PFT (STATEMENT ALSO DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON AND OTHER CAPITALS), SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN GAVE LITTLE INDICATION OF ANY POSSIBLE SOVIET "COUNTER-MEASURES" AGAINST JAPAN. AFTER HEARING JAPANESE CHARGE'S

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EXPLANATION OF TOKYO'S VIEW OF PFT, FIRYUBIN REPEATED BASIC ELEMENTS IN DEMCHENKO COMMENTARY IN AUG. 13 PRAVDA. HE HELD THAT:

-- THE SOVIET UNION DISAGREES WITH THE JAPANESE POSITION THAT ARTICLE FOUR "NEUTRALIZES" THE "DANGEROUS CHARACTER" OF THE PFT. ON THE CONTRARY, HE STATED, THE "DANGEROUS CHARACTER" OF THE TREATY IS RETAINED IN PFT IN ITS FINAL FORM, DESPITE JAPANESE CLAIMS;

-- THE PRC IS PURSUING AN ANTI-SOVIET, EXPANSIONIST POLICY, AS EVIDENCED BY CHINA'S PRESSURES ON VIETNAM;

-- THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE WATCHING TO SEE IF JAPAN, AFTER SIGNING THE PFT, WILL BE DRAWN INTO THE ORBIT OF CHINESE POLICY. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER JAPAN MAINTAINS A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE SHOWN BY DEEDS. "WE BELIEVE IN FACTS," FIRYUBIN ASSERTED.

4. FIRYUBIN STATED FURTHER: "TIME WILL SHOW

EVERYTHING AND WILL CONFIRM WHAT I HAVE BEEN SAYING.
ANYWAY, JAPAN HAS BEEN IN TOO MUCH OF A HURRY.
THIS IS A SUDDEN TURNABOUT." (FIRYUBIN'S COMMENTS,
LIKE EARLIER STATEMENTS BY SOVIET MFA JAPAN
AND PRC SPECIALISTS ABDURAZAKOV AND ARKHAROV,
STRIKE US AS SOVIET ATTEMPT TO IMPRESS UPON JAPANESE
THAT SOVIETS WERE BANKING ON TOKYO TO ABIDE BY
PREVIOUS "ASSURANCES" AND NOT AGREE TO PRC TERMS.
NOW THAT - IN SOVIET EYES - TOKYO HAS MADE ITS
"SUDDEN TURNABOUT," "VIOLATED" THESE ASSURANCES
AND INJURED SOVIET INTERESTS, IT IS INCUMBENT ON

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JAPAN TO COMPENSATE BY INSTILLING SOME MOMENTUM
IN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. IN THIS REGARD,
MOSCOW MAY BE LOOKING FOR JAPANESE FLEXIBILITY ON
THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE TO GET NEGOTIATIONS
ON A SOVIET-JAPANESE PEACE TREATY OR THE SOVIET
SUGGESTED GOOD NEIGHBORLY TREATY UNDERWAY. SOVIETS
MAY ALSO BE LOOKING FOR JAPANESE WILLINGNESS TO
INVEST MORE IN SIBERIA, OR CLEAR INDICATIONS THAT
TOKYO DOES NOT INTEND TO COORDINATE WITH
PEKING'S ANTI-SOVIETISM.)

5. JAPANESE SOURCE CITED ABOVE READ FROM CLASSIFIED CABLE REPORTING THOSE PORTIONS OF JAPANESE MFA OFFICIAL MIYAZAWA'S AUG. 12 STATEMENTS TO JAPANESE PRESS WHICH WERE NOT CLEARED FOR PUBLICATION.

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MIYAZAWA REPORTEDLY STATED HIS "PERSONAL" BELIEVE THAT:

-- THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT REALLY ANTICIPATE THAT JAPAN WILL COLLUDE WITH THE PRC AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION;

-- MOSCOW WOULD HAVE CRITICIZED JAPAN FOR PFT CONCLUSION, REGARDLESS OF THE ACTUAL CONTENTS OF PFT;

-- SOVIETS WILL NOT TAKE MOVES AGAINST JAPAN SINCE THIS WOULD NOT BE PROFITABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION;

-- SOVIETS WILL CLOSELY WATCH UPCOMING KOMO VISIT TO PRC FOR INDICATIONS OF TRENDS IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

6. JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC SOURCE STATED FURTHER THAT "MOST" OFFICIALS IN JAPANESE MFA BELIEVE THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT STRONGLY RETALIATE AGAINST JAPAN FOR PFT SIGNING BECAUSE THIS WOULD MERELY PUSH JAPAN CLOSER TO CHINA. HE AGREED WITH CHINESE DIPLOMAT'S OBSERVATION HERE THAT SOVIET REACTION WILL FOLLOW MIG-25 PATTERN. SOVIETS WILL EMPHASIZE PROPAGANDA ATTACKS, PERHAPS TAKE SOME STEPS IN THE FISHERIES OR EXCHANGES AREAS, BUT WILL AVOID ANYTHING THAT WOULD THREATEN LONG-TERM DAMAGE TO SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

7. COMMENT: CHINESE DIPLOMAT'S SPECULATION REPRESENTS THE "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM" HERE. WHILE IT MAY BE NEAR THE MARK, WE TEND TO THINK SOVIETS WILL BE WEIGHING THEIR REACTION IN THE CONTEXT OF TRENDS WHICH WERE NOT SO READILY APPARENT AT THE TIME OF THE MIG-25 INCIDENT, INCLUDING THE ACTIVIZATION OF

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PRC FOREIGN POLICY, MOVEMENT TOWARD SINO-U.S. NORMALIZATION, THE DEMONSTRATED U.S. INTENTION TO REMAIN INVOLVED IN ASIA AFTER VIETNAM, AND DETERIORATING SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS. THESE TRENDS COULD CUT TWO

WAYS: AS ARGUMENTS FOR A GUARDED SOVIET RESPONSE
TO PFT SIGNING, OR AS ARGUMENTS FOR A HARD LINE
WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY INCLUDE A MORE PROMINENT
SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE FAR EAST. TOON

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